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HOME, HEARTH AND HOPE: PSYCHOSOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF AN 'INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSON' EXPERIENCE IN KASHMIRI MIGRANTS

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MIGRANTS**

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At last, I would like to thank *RED'SHINE Publication, Pvt. Ltd.* for this keepsake, and my editorial team, technical team, designing team, promoting team, indexing team, authors and well wishers, who are promoting this journal. As well as I also thankful to *Indian Psychological Association* and President *Prof. Tarni Jee* for gives review team, I also thank you to all Indian Psychological Association members for support us. With these words, I conclude and promise that the standards policies will be maintained. We hope that the research featured here sets up many new milestones. I look forward to make this endeavour very meaningful.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to understand how internally displaced persons adjusted to the new realities of their lives specifically in the context of preservation of culture, purpose of life and the meaning of 'home'. The study included Kashmiri Pandits who have had a history of displacement. Their experiences are examined based on Esser's (1980) action-theoretical model of assimilation which states that assimilation is affected by both contextual and individual mechanisms and can be divided into four subsequent stages of- cognitive assimilation, structural assimilation, social assimilation and identification assimilation which together determine the integration or segregation of immigrants in the host society. Factors which affect each type of assimilation such as educational qualification of parents, ethnic-language retention, marriage endogamy, return plans etc are comprehensively examined. Further, the results from the qualitative analysis are well correlated with the level of psychological distress experienced by the participants. It is revealed that the members of the first generation experience greater level of psychological distress and identify predominantly with the society of origin. On the contrary, members of the second generation have successfully assimilated in the structures of the receiving society and simultaneously are able to identify with both the societies. Lastly, it is revealed that first generation of displaced persons live in a transit and fear of ethnic extinction. They define home as a very fluid and ambiguous idea lacking concreteness.

Keywords: *assimilation, cultural transmission, internally displaced persons, home*

INTRODUCTION

Man as a social animal

The famous Greek Philosopher Aristotle said that “Man is a social animal. He who lives without a society is either beast or god.” Therefore, socialization is an innate need for humans. They cannot exist in isolation. They are born in a society, they live in a society and they die in a society. Man's nature impels him to live in a society. The human child is endowed with some latent capacities to learn language, enquire and think, play and work, help or harm others, etc. and society provides the conducive atmosphere for these to develop. These capacities grow through social interaction with others and one cannot develop into a holistic being in isolation.

Consider the case of Kasper Hauser, a young German boy, who was isolated from all kinds of human contact when he was a small child. He lived in isolation in the forest of Nuremberg till the age of seventeen. He was brought out from the forest in 1928 and was taken to the city of Nuremberg. It was found that he could neither walk nor talk properly. He simply muttered few-meaningless phrases. He could not distinguish between inanimate and animate objects. After his death, the post-mortem report revealed that his mental development was not normal. In spite of his subsequent education he could never become a normal man.

Another case is that of two Hindu children Amala and Kamala who were discovered in a Wolf den in 1928. By then Amala was two years old and Kamala was nearly eight. Amala died soon after the discovery. Kamala continued to live until 1929. It was found that she behaved like a beast and walked like a four-footed animal. She could not speak and growled like a wolf. She was shy of human contact. It was only after careful and sympathetic training that she could learn some social habits like simple speech, eating, dressing and the like.

These cases exemplify how human beings develop a human nature. Not only that, even the idea of ‘self’ comes about by interacting with other people. American sociologist Charles H. Cooley’s ‘Looking Glass Theory’ (1902) states, that a person’s self grows out of a person’s social interactions with others. The view of ourselves comes from the contemplation of personal qualities and impressions of how others perceive us.

Continuing the foregoing points, man also becomes a social being by depending on a social and cultural heritage which is a mixture of customs, beliefs, values, and ideals. It is this culture, which determines the manner in which a person’s innate potentialities expresses themselves in society. Emotional development, intellectual maturity is not possible without the society. Culture and society do not exist as separate entities, but rather are interdependent and together determine our mental equipments and shape our identity, thoughts and beliefs.

American psychologist Urie Brofenbrenner formulated the ‘Ecological Systems Theory’ which explains how the inherent qualities of an individual and the characteristics of the external environment which the individual finds himself in interact to influence how one grows and develops. Through this theory he emphasizes the importance of studying an individual in the context of his multiple environments. An individual finds himself

simultaneously enmeshed in different ecosystems, from the most intimate home ecological system moving outward to the larger school system and the most expansive system which is society and culture. Each of these systems inevitably interacts and influences every aspect of an individual's life.

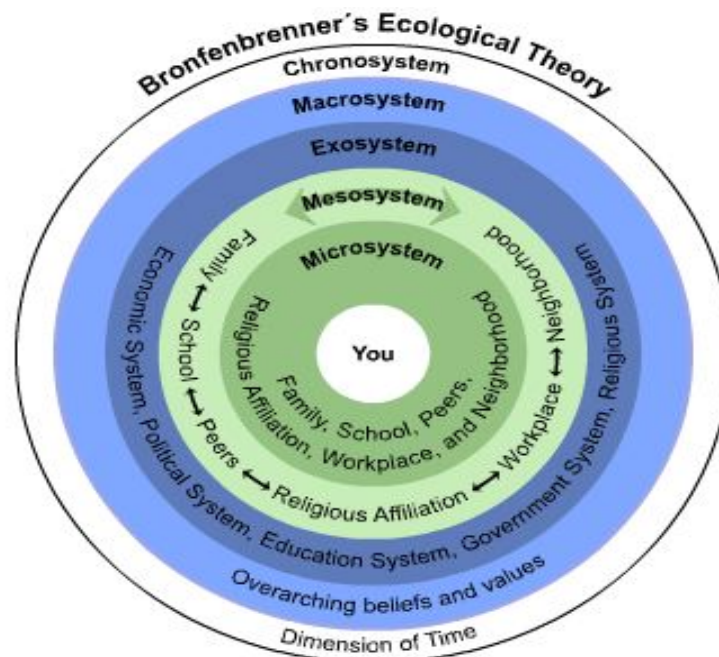


Figure 1-Bronfenbrenner's Ecological System Theory representing an individual in the context of their environment.

Culture is therefore, more about the ways in which people with similar interests come together and create meaning. Culture and society aren't independent of each other. Rather they exist in a reciprocal relationship. As people engage with a culture's practices, artifacts, and institutions, their thoughts, feelings, and behaviors come to reflect the culture's values and beliefs. Psychologist Chi-Yue Chiu, University of Illinois says that "People are active cultural agents, rather than passive recipients of cultural influences. They create, apply, reproduce, transform, and transmit their cultural routines in their daily social interactions." Here, it is the human being who acts as an agent of change, an instrument of socialization. It is a man's capacity to transmit knowledge explicitly to other individuals in space and time by means of devices such as deliberate teaching through shaping the behavior of other individuals.

Process of Cultural Transmission

Boyd and Richerson (1985) understand culture as the transmission of knowledge, values, and other factors that influence behavior from one generation to the next. Transmission may be understood as the deliberate or unintended transfer of information from a transmitter to a transmittee. The concept of cultural transmission, however, indicates the transmission of culture or cultural elements that are widely distributed: social orientations (e.g., values), skills (e.g., reading and writing), knowledge (e.g., the healing power of certain herbs) and behaviors (e.g., the exchange of rings in wedding ceremony).

The transmission of culture is a necessary process to maintain culture; thus, it has always taken place, from ancient to newly developed cultures. In traditional, slowly changing societies, the transmission of culture is a common undertaking of the older generation applied to the younger generation. The term *cultural* in cultural transmission may apply to traits that are acquired by any process of nongenetic transmission, be it by imprinting, conditioning, observation, imitation, or as a result of direct teaching. Genetic transmission may not be the only source for parent-offspring biological similarity. Social orientations, skills, and accumulated knowledge are also similar in parent-offspring dyads. (Cavalli-Sforza & Feldman, 1981).

Boyd & Richerson, 1985 state evidence that there are three “channels” or directions of transmission of contents:

1. Vertical transmission includes factors such as personality traits, cognitive development, attitudes, attainments, educational and occupational status, patterns of upward/downward mobility, sex-role conceptions, sexual activity, attitudes towards feminism, political beliefs and activities etc.
2. Horizontally and obliquely transmitted traits include attitudes; career and social mobility; aspirations; sex role and sexual behavior; adolescent behavior; aggressive behavior, altruistic behavior; morals; social values; conformity; language and dialect; technological innovations; clothing fashions; consumer behavior, rituals, stories and rhymes.
3. Genetically and culturally transmitted traits include handedness, cerebral dominance, intelligence, and possibly religious and political beliefs (Laland, 1993).

CULTURAL TRANSMISSION (ENCULTURATION AND SOCIALIZATION FROM OWN CULTURE)

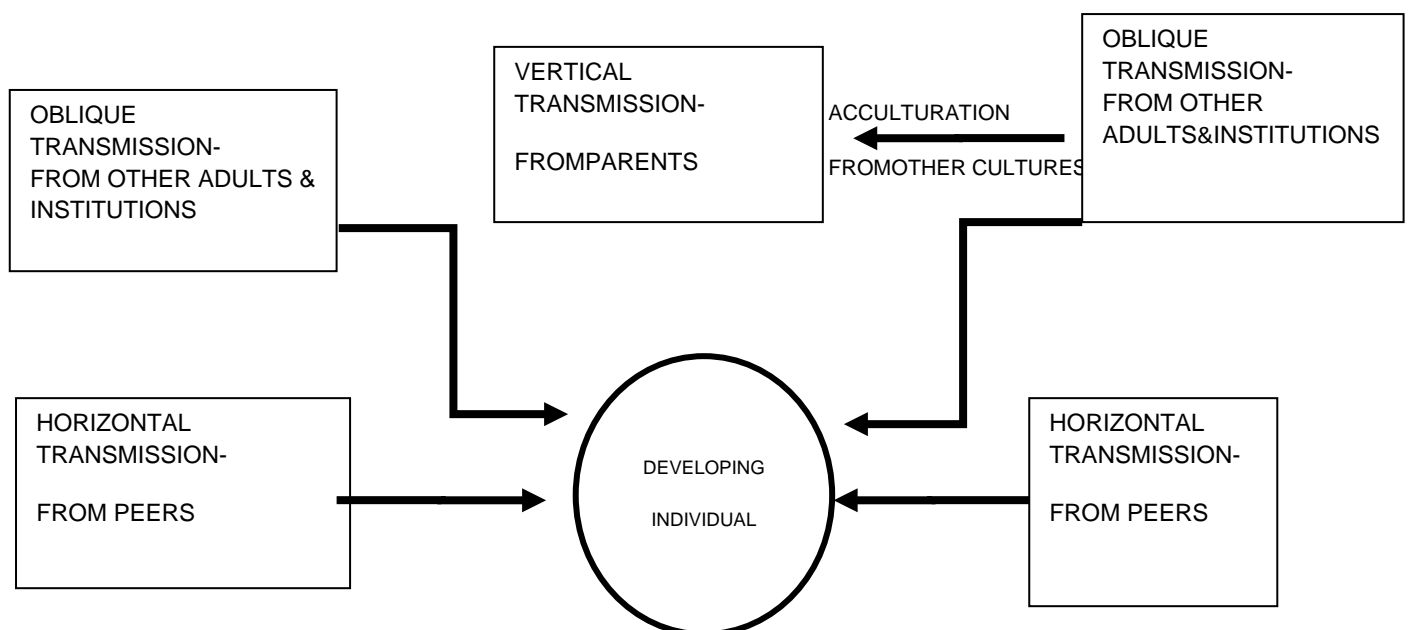


Figure 2- The Framework of Cultural Transmission

Some findings suggest that vertical (i.e., parent-offspring) as opposed to horizontal (i.e., peer) transmission serves the function of spreading less primitive cultural units and that horizontally transmitted traits are advantageous in rapidly changing, spatially heterogeneous environments.

What happens when an individual 'chooses' to shift to another place? And what happens when one is forced to shift to another place?

The process by which an individual, a family or a group decides to move from one place to another is termed as **migration**. This movement might happen between the same country (internal migration) i.e. from one state to another or from one country to another (external migration). There are several reasons why one might choose to migrate. For instance, there has been an increased demand for workers in other countries due to globalization in order to sustain national economies. Known as "economic migrants," these individuals are generally from impoverished developing countries migrating to obtain sufficient income for survival. People also move or are forced to move as a result of conflict, human rights violations, violence, or to escape persecution. In 2013, it was estimated that around 51.2 million people fell into this category. Another important reason people move is to gain access to opportunities and services or to escape extreme weather. This type of movement is usually from rural to urban areas and is known as "internal migration." Socio-cultural and geo-historical factors also play a major role. In North Africa, for example, being an immigrant in Europe is considered a sign of social prestige.

In 2013, the United Nations estimated there to be about 232 million international migrants in the world. Many may be surprised to know that this number represents slightly more than 3% of the world's population – a percentage that has remained rather steady for several decades.

Top 10 Countries of Origin		Top 10 Destination Countries	
<i>For all migrants</i>		<i>For all migrants</i>	
Mexico	12,930,000	United States	42,810,000
India	11,810,000	Russia	12,270,000
Russia	11,260,000	Germany	10,760,000
China	8,440,000	Saudi Arabia	7,290,000
Bangladesh	6,480,000	Canada	7,200,000
Ukraine	6,450,000	France	6,680,000
Palestinian territories	5,740,000	United Kingdom	6,450,000
United Kingdom	5,010,000	Spain	6,380,000
Philippines	4,630,000	India	5,440,000
Pakistan	4,480,000	Ukraine	5,260,000

Figure 3- Statistics for top 10 countries of origin and for destination

Migration mostly happens as per the will of an individual. It is more like a choice that a person makes for better opportunities or for having an enhanced quality of life but not always is this true. Sometimes a person may be compelled to leave house as there is a perception of threat to their lives, property or dignity. 'Migrants' is not the word referred to people who left

their place of origin in such unavoidable circumstances. In such cases we use the term 'refugee'. Following World War II and in response to the large numbers of people fleeing Eastern Europe, the UN 1951 Refugee Convention adopted (in Article 1.A.2) the following definition of "refugee" to apply to any person who:

"owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it."

As mentioned previously migration can be both internal and external. A more appropriate term to refer to people who have migrated under dire circumstances but have not crossed international boundaries is 'internally displaced persons' (IDPs). An **internally displaced person** is someone who is forced to flee his or her home but who remains within his or her country's borders. They are often referred to as refugees, although they do not fall within the legal definitions of a refugee. At the end of 2014, it was estimated there were 38.2 million IDPs worldwide, the highest level since 1989, the first year for which global statistics on IDPs are available. The countries with the largest IDP populations were Syria (7.6 million), Colombia (6 million), Iraq (3.6 million), the Democratic Republic of the Congo (2.8 million), Sudan (2.2 million), South Sudan (1.6 million), Pakistan (1.4 million), Nigeria (1.2 million) and Somalia (1.1 million).

Migration not only presents a complex and interlinked policy challenges for government and the international community but at an individual level it imposes a challenge to the process of assimilation and has multiple implications.

Assimilation of immigrants in the receiving society is a major challenge. A classic action-theoretical model proposed by Esser (1980) suggests both individual and contextual mechanisms which affect assimilation. The assimilation process itself is divided into subsequent stages of cognitive assimilation (i.e., acquisition of knowledge about the receiving society and its institutional structure, acquisition of language skills as the strategic means to gain access to this knowledge); structural assimilation (i.e., social participation, placement in the occupational structure); social assimilation (i.e., informal social contact to members of the receiving society) and if the precondition of personal integration of the various roles in the receiving society is met, identification assimilation (i.e., predominant identification assimilation with the receiving society) (Nauck, 1988). People across all sections of the society migrate from one place to another because of afore mentioned reasons. But this process does have certain implications too. Deriving from the above mentioned theory of assimilation, enlisted below are certain assumptions and/or consequences of the relationship between the four constructs (cognitive assimilation, structural assimilation, social assimilation and identification assimilation)-

No direct measures of the opportunity structure of the receiving society are available; therefore, "feelings of discrimination" by the parents is introduced as the exogenous,

contextual variable. It is assumed that feelings of discrimination intergenerationally related and transmitted and that discrimination itself decreases social assimilation.

The cultural capital of the parents is the other exogenous, individual variable and is measured by the parents' educational level, which is assumed to have a negative effect on the retention of the language spoken in the society of origin in the migrant family and on the endogamy of its social networks (and, thus, a positive effect on social assimilation) and a positive effect on the school career of the child (the child's cultural capital) and the child's cognitive assimilation.

The retention of the language of origin in the migrant family is a strong means by which to decrease the opportunities and necessities for the language acquisition of family members, as well as to shape their network structure, and thus it is a strong requisite for the retention of an ethnic identification.

Intergenerational transmission results in a strong relationship between the social assimilation of the parents and that of the child (i.e., their exogamous social network composition) and a strong influence of the parents' identificational assimilation on both the child's social and ethnic assimilation.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Taking the variables such language-retention, parents' education, feelings of discrimination, ethnic identification there is ample evidence which validates these assumptions. In a research done on the youth of immigrant origin in Switzerland, it was found that despite holding equal educational qualifications as the local they faced immense discrimination in entering the labor market (Fibbi., Lerch, Wanner; 2006). In another research done by Jens Rydgren in 2006 the existence of extensive ethnic discrimination in the Swedish labour market was reported. Migrants—in particular non-European migrants—had considerably higher unemployment rates and lower wage incomes than native Swedes. Three mechanisms of exclusion were identified as particularly important: statistical discrimination (based on stereotypical thinking), network effects (due to separated, ethnically homogeneous networks), and institutional discrimination. Key actors holding gatekeeper positions in the labor market discriminated against migrants in a two-fold way: by making decisions about recruitment, etc. based on stereotypical—and often prejudiced—beliefs about group-specific characteristics rather than on individual skills; and by choosing people they know or who have been recommended by someone they know for vacant positions (network recruitment). Neither of these mechanisms involved much reflection, which implied that actors in gatekeeper positions often discriminated against migrants without being aware of it.

Therefore, discrimination of any kind eventually affects the social and structural assimilation of the immigrants.

Vygotsky (1968) said “language and culture and frameworks through which humans experience, communicate, and understand reality.” Culture and language are so closely associated that the famous author Khaled Housseini said that if culture was the house then, language was the key to front door.

When an individual migrates from one part of the world to another language-retention and language-acquisition both are crucially important. Acquisition of new language i.e., the language of the receiving society determines the extent of cognitive assimilation and in turn affects the other three constructs too. Samuel P. Huntington (2004) argued that the arrival of Latin American immigrants in large numbers during the last three decades of the twentieth century threatens the core of American identity and culture in the twenty-first century. According to him, Latin American immigrants are much less likely to speak English than earlier generations of European immigrants because they all speak a common language; they are regionally concentrated and residentially segregated within Spanish-speaking enclaves; they are less interested in linguistic and cultural assimilation.

In another research done by Larissa Remennick in 2010 on the Language acquisition, ethnicity and social integration among former Soviet immigrants of the 1990s in Israel it was seen that Russian immigrants in different host countries were prone to ethno-linguistic retention, which in Israel was augmented by their advanced age structure. The issue of the dominant language (Hebrew versus Russian) was very central to the local discourse on

ethnicity and immigrant integration. As a by-product of ethnic mobilization during the 1990s, a rather autonomous Russian community had emerged in Israel – with its own labor market, consumer services, media and social networks. Language acquisition was a key pathway to economic success and social integration. The improvement of Hebrew skills with increasing tenure in Israel was mainly found among young and middle-aged respondents, while older ones did not report positive change over time. Younger and upwardly mobile immigrants showed a tendency towards additive bilingualism, incorporating the elements of Hebrew into their everyday communications and cultural/media consumption. Mastering and using Hebrew served as a trigger for reshaping immigrants' identity, resulting in the gradual formation of a new ethnic entity – Russian Israeli.

When all the three constructs are successfully met within the receiving society, the most important remains to be predominantly identifying with the receiving society. The transmission process is based primarily on the choice of the individual to accept or not to accept. Migration often leads to a change in the identity of the individual. If he/she does not accept his change then complete assimilation may never happen.

Children and adolescents who immigrate to a new country must of necessity acquire the customs and behaviors of their adopted country. Depending on their age at the time of immigration, the young immigrants have already been socialized to the culture of their parents and, as consequence, may experience considerable difficulty in adapting to their new surroundings because of the demand to learn the language and cultural practices of their hosts. Erikson (1968) described the essence of identity and the crisis of identity formation during adolescence as the search by adolescents to define themselves in ways that are free of the family influence and in line with peers and non-related adult role models. For adolescents from a bicultural family, the search for an identity free from their immediate family (i.e., grandparents and parents) creates challenges not experienced by unicultural adolescents.

For example, adolescents of Mexican origin are often asked by peers whether they identify as Mexican, Mexican American, American, Chicano, Latino, or Hispanic. There are important historical and political reasons for each of these ethnic labels that refer to individuals of Mexican heritage regardless of whether they are immigrants of later-generation American citizens. Each label packs important information about the cultural, social, and political stance of the parents and community in the larger context of immigration history and assimilation into American society.

Individuals can even identify themselves with both the cultures- culture of origin and of the receiving society. *Biculturalism*, a concept that emerged in 1980s which refers to individuals who manage two cultures successfully. LaFromboise, Coleman, and Gerton (1993) defined a bicultural person as an individual who, by virtue of the socialization he or she received from their primary caregivers, is competent in two cultures. According to this view, it is possible to be a member of two cultures without being in serious psychological conflict about either. The bicultural person is well adjusted and open to others and is a cultural broker between peoples of different backgrounds. The completely bicultural person is an individual who possess two

social identities congruent with the norms of each culture. The person is equally at ease with members of either culture and can easily switch from one cultural orientation to the other and do so often with native like facility.

Finally, in a study done on five different groups of migrant families namely, Greek, Italian, and Turkish labor migrant families in Germany; German repatriates from Russia in Germany; and Jewish immigrants from Russia in Israel by Nauck in 1988 each variable (educational level, ethnic-language retention, feelings of discrimination, marriage endogamy and plans to return) are studied in relation to the degree of intergenerational transmission. Following are the results of the study-

The educational level varies considerably between the included immigrant groups. Whereas almost all of the Jewish immigrants from Russia in Israel and approximately half of the German repatriate parents have at least a high school degree, this is the case for less than a quarter of the migrant-worker parents, with the highest schooling for the Turkish fathers and the lowest for Greek mothers among them; there is no difference in the level of education between the first and second generations of the Italian, Greek, and Turkish migrant families. Accordingly, the intergenerational transmission is lowest in the most recently arrived Israeli group and highest in the first arrived Italian group. A major mechanism for ethnic-language retention is related to whether this language is used in the family of origin for communication between parents and children and among siblings. Slightly more than half of the immigrant parents in Germany use solely the Italian, Greek, and Turkish or Russian language when speaking with their children, whereas more than 90% of the Russian immigrants in Israel use their ethnic language. In all immigrant groups, language retention is lower in the communication between brothers and sisters as compared to the communication between parents and child. The contrast is highest in Turkish families and lowest in German repatriate families. Accordingly, the intergenerational transmission of the family-language retention is quite high in the German repatriate families and low in Turkish families. The level of family-language retention is not directly related to the level of the children's mastery of the language of the society of origin. Both the intergenerational differences in the family-language retention and the children's mastery of the language of their parents show the difficulty of sustaining the culture of origin in the majority of immigrant families, accordingly, neither 'segregation' nor 'integration' seems to be the major pathway of acculturation but rather 'assimilation' and- perhaps- 'marginalization.' Strong intergenerational differences in the feelings of discrimination were reported: first-generation immigrant parents report discrimination to a significantly higher degree than their children. The most discrimination was reported by Turkish fathers in at least two areas of work, housing, shops and authorities; the lowest discrimination was reported by Russian Jews in Israel. The more active indicators of non assimilation are marriage endogamy and plans to return. Marriage endogamy may be related to the creation of a more or less stable minority subculture, whereas plans to return indicate at least a reason not to invest too much in a permanent stay in the receiving society. In all five immigrant groups, the intergenerational transmission of attitudes toward marriage endogamy is relatively high in both gender dyads. Plans to return differ according to the migrant generation, being considerably higher in the first generation as compared to the

second. In the repatriate families in Germany and Israel, plans to return are literally zero. Plans to return are more pronounced in the Greek first generation, especially in the Turkish families, in which approximately 30% of the parents and 20% of the children report plans to return. In general, the effect of transmission is higher in migrant families as compared to non-migrant families and indicates a highly synchronized intergenerational pattern of coping with the migrant situation. The analysis of the level differences revealed two extreme groups: The Turkish immigrant families in Germany on the one hand and the Jewish Russian families in Israel on the other. Both groups show comparatively high segregation tendencies: Both groups of parents have relatively poor knowledge of the language of the respective receiving society and thus a high tendency to use the language of origin for communication in the family, and both groups show the highest tendency toward marriage endogamy. However, whereas this is related to feelings of discrimination and to decisive plans to return in the case of the Turkish families, it seems also to be related to extremely high levels of education, lowest feelings of discrimination, and absence of plans to return in the case of the Russian Jews.

Migration can even have a serious repercussion on the health of the immigrants. Research evidence proves that there is a strong correlation between migration and lifestyle diseases. As there is a complete shift in the environment of an individual through migration, immigrants are therefore more vulnerable for acquiring lifestyle diseases such as type II diabetes mellitus, hypertension and cardiovascular diseases to name a few. A research done by Torun et al., (2002) on Guatemalan adults it was found that out of men/women who migrated to urban areas from rural ones, men had high blood pressure, low BMI and women were overweight than their rural counterparts. In another study done by Patel et al. (2006) on the impact of migration on Coronary Heart disease risk factors (a comparative study between Gujaratis living in Britain with their counterparts living in their native Indian villages) it was seen that exposure to increased fat intake and obesity related to migration most likely explained the disproportionate combination of established and emerging CHD risk factors prevalent in Gujaratis in Britain.

In conclusion, cultural transmission has been distinguished by three major processes: enculturation, socialization and acculturation. When the process takes place entirely within one's own or primary culture, then enculturation and socialization are the appropriate terms. However, when the process derives from contact with another or secondary culture, the term acculturation is employed, which refers to the form of transmission experienced by an individual resulting from contact with and influence from persons and institutions belonging to cultures other than one's own (Berry, 2007). Cultural variations can be understood as adaptations to differing ecological settings or contexts. The literature regarding patterns of human enculturation (Cole, Gay, Glick & Sharp 1971) indicates that there are, universally, periods of each individual life history (adolescence, adulthood) in which culture learning is emphasized and constitutes a predominant activity- reflected, for example, in exploratory and observational learning behavior, imitation of adult roles, parental efforts of training and inculcation of norms and values, rites of passage, and initiation into elite groups. On one hand we have biculturalism which refers to an individual successfully belonging to two separate

culture and these individuals are well adjusted to both of them. On the other, we have immigrants becoming marginal people, isolated from both the cultures and thereby suffering from feelings of inferiority. Therefore, the most important aspect of assimilation for immigrants remains to be identification. Even when an individual chooses to migrate from one place to another in order to have an enhanced quality of life with better opportunity structures has to carry his/her culture along. For them it is more about creating a home away from home. Transmitting culture from one place to another or from one generation to another has a lot of implications too. When the migration is forceful or when people are internally displaced it becomes worse. From the above mentioned studies it is clear that assimilating completely in the receiving society is more difficult for the first generation immigrants. in this light, the present study deals with a particular community of people in India named Kashmiri Pandits, who may be assumed as 'internally displaced persons' as they perceive a force to flee from their own home on grounds of ethnic cleansing in Kashmir on 19th January' 1990. Hence, this is an exploratory study with the focus to understand the following-

1. What are the challenges of *internally displaced* persons?
2. How do people who have been forced to leave their homes, recreate meaning and find purpose to their '*lives*'?
3. How is *culture retained* among the family from one generation to the next?
4. What does the word '*home*' mean for such individuals?

METHODOLOGY

Objective

To understand how internally displaced persons adjust to the new realities of their lives specifically in the context of preservation of culture, purpose of life and the meaning of 'home'.

Sample

The sample for the study comprised of Kashmiri Pandits who are living in different parts of New Delhi since the displacement. Since the study was exploratory in nature a sample size of ten Kashmiri Pandits were selected with the purpose of understanding their experience of transition, transformation and successful transmission of culture while assimilating in the receiving society.

The inclusion criteria was as follows-

1. Age: Participants of two different generations were included in the study. For the first generation sixty years and above was kept the criterion and for the second generation it was forty years and above.
2. Time period of resettlement: Participants included in the study had spent at least twenty years living in another city far away from their homes.
3. Socio-economic status: Only those Kashmiri Pandits were chosen who belonged from a middle-class family. Middle-class family was defined by means of owning a house, financial independence and a graduation degree as the minimum educational qualification.
4. Gender: Both men and women fulfilling the above mentioned criteria were selected for the study.

Measures

This was an exploratory and ex post facto study. Case study was the broader method under which the interview technique and questionnaire was incorporated for data collection. Interview was an unstructured one with open-ended questions. The responses that followed formed a personal narrative for each individual which helped us in gaining insight into their experiences.

The interview included the following questions-

	Demographic details
1.	Name
2.	Age
3.	Sex
4.	Occupation
5.	Educational qualifications
6.	Residential address
7.	Number of children
	Year and month of migration
	Interview questions
8.	Describe your childhood and the period before migration?
9.	How was the culture of that place?

10.	What was the critical moment when you decided to leave your homes?
11.	How did you decide upon a place?
12.	What were the challenges you encountered while living in a new city?
13.	How has life been different since the migration?
14.	Since the migration, have you ever gone back? Is it still the same?
15.	After living for more than 20 years here now does this place feel like home?
16.	In what language do you communicate with your children and in what language do the siblings communicate in?
17.	Will you support your children if they decide to marry outside the community?
18.	What are your thoughts on going back to Kashmir?
19.	Name five people in each of these categories- 1. People you think of in times of emergency/crisis/when you need help. 2. People you usually plan your leisurely activities with.

The data generated through the interview was subjected to thematic and content analysis. Both thematic and content analyses are extensively used qualitative approaches to analyze data. They share the same aim of analytically examining narrative materials from life stories by breaking the text into relatively small units of content and submitting them to descriptive treatment (Sparker, 2005). In the present study both the techniques were well suited. Content analysis made possible to analyze the data both qualitatively and at the same time quantify it. Thematic analysis on the other hand provided a purely qualitative, detailed, and nuanced account of data.

The TBDI (Talbieh Brief Distress Inventory) is a 24-item self-report questionnaire that measures psychological distress among immigrants. It was developed by Ritsner, Rabinowitz and Slyuzberg in 1995. It is designed for adults aged 18 to 87 years and combines items from two separate instruments. 11 items are taken from Brief Symptoms Inventory (BSI) and 13 items have been taken from Psychiatric Epidemiology Research Interview Demoralization Scale (PERI-D). The 24-items are divided into six scales- obsessiveness, hostility, sensitiveness, anxiety, depression, and paranoid ideation. The participants indicated responses on a five-point Likert type scale, choices ranging from not-at-all to extremely on 24 items. The score is calculated individually for each of the six scales taking into consideration only the responses marked as moderately to extremely and represented in the form of a frequency table mentioned in results section. A grand score is calculated in the end by summing up the scores on all 24 items which reveals the actual level of distress in the immigrants on a continuum ranging from 0 to 96. However, for the present study this questionnaire has not been used for the purpose of diagnosis but rather as a supplement to discuss the themes which arose from the personal narratives.

Following is a table stating the questions associated with each of the six scales.

SCALES	QUESTIONS/STATEMENTS
Obsessiveness	1. Trouble remembering things 9. Difficulty making decisions 23. Trouble concentrating or keeping your mind on what you were doing
Hostility	2. Feeling easily annoyed/irritated 5. Temper outbursts that you could not control 10. Getting into frequent arguments
Sensitivity	7. Your feelings being easily hurt 8. Feeling that people are unfriendly 12. Feelings of worthlessness 13. Feelings of guilt
Depression	15. Bothered by feelings of sadness/depression 17. Feelings of uselessness 19. Feeling that nothing turns out the way you want it to 20. Felt completely hopeless about everything 21. Felt completely helpless 22. Felt if anything was worthwhile anymore 24. How satisfied have you been with yourself (3-5 dissatisfied)
Anxiety	14. How often have you had attacks of sudden fear or panic 16. How often have you been bothered by nervousness, being fidgety or tense 18. How often have you felt anxious
Paranoid ideation	4. Felt that most people cannot be trusted 6. Feeling lonely even when with people 11. Others not giving you proper credit for your achievement

Internally displaced persons face the major challenge of complete successful assimilation in the receiving society. A classic theoretical model developed by Esser in 1980 describes the assimilation process by dividing it into four subsequent stages. These stages are as follows-

1. Cognitive assimilation- acquisition of knowledge about the receiving society and its institutional structure, acquisition of language skills as the strategic means to gain access to this knowledge.
2. Structural assimilation- social participation, placement in the occupational structure
3. Social assimilation- informal social contact to members of the receiving society
4. Identification assimilation- predominant identification with the receiving society

From the significant life events and the codes generated through the transcripts major units or codes are categorized into the aforementioned stages/themes.

Network characteristics, is another measure used in the present study to determine the characteristics of social network across generations in immigrants. Transmission of network characteristics was proposed by Nauck and Kohlmann in 1999. It includes six major

variables- network size, spatial availability, contact frequency, kinship-centeredness, social capital and interethnic network.

S. NO.	Characteristic	Explanation
1.	Network size	Total number of network members
2.	Spatial availability	Proportion of network members within walking distance
3.	Contact frequency	Proportion of network members with at least weekly contact
4.	Kinship-centeredness	Proportion of kinship within the network
5.	Social capital	Sum-score of multiples network relationships
6.	Intraethnic network	Proportion of network members belonging to their own ethnic/migrant group

For the present study all except network size and social capital are considered. Responses are marked by asking participants to name at least five people in two different categories which are- people you remember in times of help and people you plan your leisurely activities with. For the purpose of scoring the responses indicated by the members are converted into proportions.

Procedure

Participants were selected through the network of parents by the process of convenient sampling. The potential participants were first reached out to through a telephonic conversation wherein they were explained the purpose of the study and asked for their availability for participation. Once they gave their consent, a suitable time was fixed for the interview.

Prior to taking the face-to-face interview a rough structure of the interview questions was planned. The researcher began the interview as per the scheduled time given by the participant. It started with rapport formation by asking the participant about their day, talking about general things in life such as the weather, politics etc. Soon after the interviewee was comfortable enough the interviewer explained him/her the purpose of the study in detail and asked for their consent to record the interview.

As it was an unstructured interview comprising of majorly open-ended questions the interviewee drove the flow of the interview. The responses in totality formed a personal narrative which was subjected to thematic and content analysis for each participant. The questions asked during the process were designed to learn about the stories of internally displaced persons majorly concerning their assimilation (cognitive, structural, social and identification) in the receiving society based on the following variables- Parents' education, Family-language retention, Child's language acquisition, Parents' feelings of being discriminated against, Parents' ethnic identification and child's ethnic identification, Return plans and Network characteristics.

Post the completion of the interview the TBDI questionnaire was administered on each of the ten participants. After the completion, they were debriefed about the questionnaire and assured that the information shared by them will remain absolutely confidential.

Later the recorded interviews were transcribed by the researcher in private and qualitatively analyzed. And the responses on the questionnaire were scored in total as well as for the six scales of obsessiveness, hostility, anxiety, depression, sensitivity and paranoid ideation.

RESULT

The results as concluded from the qualitative analysis of the interviews and the scoring of the questionnaire for each of the ten participants is represented in the following tables-

Table 1 Demographic characteristics of the participants (N=10)

S. No.	Characteristic	Description
1.	Age	Mean age (I generation)- 67 years Mean age (II generation)- 51 years
2.	Gender	Females-5, Males-5
3.	Year of migration	1990
4.	Language proficiency	I generation participants- Primary- Kashmiri Secondary- Hindi II generation participants- Primary- Hindi, English Secondary- Kashmiri
5.	Educational qualification	Men- Post graduation and higher Women- Post graduation (4), 12 th pass (1)
6.	Employment	Men- working (3), retired (2) Women- working (2), housewives (3)
7.	Resided in a refugee camp	1 out of 10 participants and for a duration of 1 year
8.	Receiving any government assistance (presently)	Men- 5 Women- 0

The above table comprehensively describes the demographic details of the participants. As can be inferred, 5 out of 10 participants are females and five are males. Most of the members of the first generation have Kashmiri as the primary language of communication. While, for the second generation members Hindi/English is the primary language of communication. Most of the men have either worked or are still working while only two out of five women are working. Only one of the participants has experienced living in a refugee camp. The implications of each of these characteristics in the process of assimilation have been explained in the discussion.

Table 2 Categorization of codes into the four major themes

S. No.	Major codes	Theme
1.	Language of communication between siblings, acquisition of a new language	Cognitive assimilation
2.	Occupation, income range, initial economic strain, buying of property	Structural assimilation
3.	Acclimatizing to the new environment, learning a new culture, discrimination at two or more places	Social assimilation
4.	Marriage endogamy, ethnic language retention, feelings of lost identity, return plans, choice of names for children/spouse, idea of 'home'	Identification assimilation

The major codes identified through content analysis were categorized under the different themes of subsequent stages of assimilation as proposed by Esser in the action-theoretical model (1980). Therefore, *cognitive assimilation* which refers to acquiring knowledge about the receiving society and its structural institutions includes codes such as acquisition of a new language, language of communication used between parents and children and between siblings. *Structural assimilation* includes codes such as occupation, income range, economic strain experienced initially and purchasing permanent property. *Social assimilation* includes the following codes such as acclimatizing to the new environment, experiencing discrimination at two or more places and learning the culture of the host society. Finally, *identification assimilation* includes the codes such as marriage endogamy, ethnic-language retention, feeling of identity loss, return plans, choice of names for spouse/children and the idea of 'home'. These major themes and how each of these codes impact the respective assimilation stage is described in the discussion.

Table 3 Frequencies of the response by participants on each of the scales of TBDI (N=10)

Scales	Questions/statements	Responses (moderately-extremely)
Obsessiveness	3. Trouble remembering things 12. Difficulty making decisions 25. Trouble concentrating or keeping your mind on what you were doing	11 1111 1111 /
Hostility	4. Feeling easily annoyed/irritated 7. Temper outbursts that you could not control 13. Getting into frequent arguments	1111 // 1111 // 1111
Sensitivity	9. Your feelings being easily hurt 10. Feeling that people are unfriendly 15. Feelings of worthlessness	1111 11✓ 1111 11✓ 1111 11✓

Scales	Questions/statements	Responses (moderately-extremely)
	16. Feelings of guilt	11
Depression	17. Bothered by feelings of sadness/depression	1111 1111 /
	19. Feelings of uselessness	1111 11 /
	23. Feeling that nothing turns out the way you want it to	1111 1111 /
	24. Felt completely hopeless about everything	1111 1111 /
	25. Felt completely helpless	1111 11
	26. Felt if anything was worthwhile anymore	1111 111
	26. How satisfied have you been with yourself (3-5 dissatisfied)	111
Anxiety	17. How often have you had attacks of sudden fear or panic	1111
	18. How often have you been bothered by nervousness, being fidgety or tense	1111 111 /
	20. How often have you felt anxious	1111 1111 /
Paranoid ideation	5. Felt that most people cannot be trusted	1111 1111 /
	8. Feeling lonely even when with people	1111 /
	14. Others not giving you proper credit for your achievement	1111 1111 /

The above table depicts the frequencies of participants on each of the six scales (obsessiveness, hostility, sensitivity, depression, anxiety and paranoid ideation) on Talbieh Brief Distress Inventory, a 24-item scale designed to measure psychological distress in immigrants. as can be inferred from the table, maximum frequencies are marked against the items falling under the scale of depression such as 'being bothered by feelings of sadness/depression', 'Feeling that nothing turns out the way you want it to', and 'Felt completely hopeless about everything'; on items of paranoid ideation such as 'feeling that most people cannot be trusted', and 'others not giving you proper credit for your achievement'; on items of sensitivity such as 'your feelings being easily hurt', and 'feeling that most people cannot be trusted'; and finally, on items of anxiety such as 'How often have you been bothered by nervousness, being fidgety or tense', and 'how often have you felt anxious'. The responses on other scales of obsessiveness and hostility are not as high.

Table 4 Scores on the Talbieh Brief Distress Inventory scale and the level of distress (N=10)

S	Total score	Level of Distress (0-96)	Obsessiveness	Hostility	Sensitivity	Depression	Anxiety	Paranoid Ideation
11	68	HIGH	7	10	13	19	7	8
22	47	MOD	3	10	8	13	6	6
33	47	MOD	8	2	5	18	7	7
44	43	MOD	3	4	9	13	7	6
55	30	MOD	4	3	4	9	4	5
6	62	HIGH	4	7	10	19	7	11
77	42	MOD	5	3	5	15	7	6
88	47	MOD	4	4	8	16	5	8
9	46	MOD	3	7	6	17	5	7
10	59	HIGH	7	2	13	18	8	8
	$\bar{X}=49.1$ S.D = 10.47		$\bar{X}_1 = 4.8$	$\bar{X}_2 = 5.9$	$\bar{X}_3 = 8.1$	$\bar{X}_4 = 15.7$	$\bar{X}_5 = 6.3$	$\bar{X}_6 = 7.2$

The above table gives us the total score for each of the ten participants and their scores on each of the six scales as well. As it can be seen, that all participants show moderate to high levels of distress and none of them are showing low levels. The Talbieh Brief Distress Inventory consists of 24 items in total. Each item has a response choice based on five point Likert type scale (0-4). Therefore, the minimum a participant can score is zero and the maximum is ninety-six. The mid-point lies at forty-eight which suggests moderate level of distress. From the above table, one can make out that the mean distress in the given sample is 49.1 which is a little ahead from the moderate level of psychological distress. The small standard deviation score here suggests that majority of the total scores cluster closely around the average score.

Table 5 Characteristics of social network for each participant (N=10)

Network Characteristic	P 1	P 2	P 3	P 4	P 5	P 6	P 7	P 8	P 9	P 10
Spatial availability (proportion of network members within walking distance)	0/5	3/5	2/5	3/5	4/5	0/5	3/5	3/5	2/5	4/5
Contact frequency (proportion of network members with at least weekly contact)	3/5	4/5	4/5	4/5	4/5	4/5	4/5	2/5	4/5	4/5
Kinship-Centeredness (proportion of kinship within the network)	1/5	2/5	4/5	3/5	5/5	4/5	2/5	2/5	3/5	5/5
Intraethnic Network (proportion of network members belonging to their own ethnic/migrant group)	5/5	4/5	4/5	5/5	4/5	4/5	2/5	2/5	3/5	4/5

The above table displays the responses of people on the following questions- 'Name five people you think of in times of emergency or when you need help?' and 'Name five people you plan your leisurely activities with?' The responses are clubbed together and represented as proportions in each of the four network characteristics- spatial availability, contact frequency, kinship-centeredness and intraethnic network. As can be inferred from the table, most of the participants (8 out of 10) mentioned people belonging to the same ethnic group and almost all (9 out of 10) shared a high contact frequency with their network members. However, very few (2 out of 10) named network members who were in proximity of walking distance.

DISCUSSION

Man is a socially embedded being. He formulates his views of the world by constantly interacting with his environment. His nature impels him to live in a society. By living in the society he develops the capacity to think, learn new skills, enquire, play and help others. Society and culture transforms humans into humane. Culture of a society is beyond the food, habits, rituals and/or traditions. It is about the set of ideas or beliefs that ties people with common interests and enables them to make sense of the world. Therefore, society and culture aren't separate from each other. They together determine our mental capacities and shape our thoughts, beliefs and identity.

When an individual decides to shift to another society because of better job opportunities or in lieu of having an enhanced quality of life, we term that process of shifting as migration. But sometimes an individual or group of persons such as a unit or a family are forced to leave their place of origin because of a perception of threat to their lives, honor and/or dignity. Persons who leave under such circumstances and move to another place without crossing international borders are usually referred to as *internally displaced persons*.

The shift from one culture to another by one's choice or against it primarily affects the process of cultural transmission. This transmission of culture further entails three distinguished processes- enculturation, socialization and acculturation. Acculturation is of major interest to us in the context of the present study. It can be defined as the form of transmission experienced by an individual resulting from contact with and influence from persons and institutions belonging to cultures other than one's own (Berry, 2007).

The present study was designed to learn about the experiences of one such 'internally displaced' group of people i.e., Kashmiri Pandits. The purpose was to understand how these people adjusted themselves to the new realities of their lives in the context of preservation of culture, finding meaning and defining what home meant. The sample was selected through convenience sampling with the inclusion criteria being the age, gender, educational qualifications, time period of resettlement, and their socio-economic status. It was a purely exploratory study. The data was collected through the techniques of case study approach-interview and questionnaire. The interview was self-made and unstructured with open-ended questions. The questionnaire used was the Talbieh Brief Distress Inventory (TBDI) developed by Ritsner, Rabinowitz and Slyuzberg in 1995.

Based on Esser's model of cultural transmission (1980), the study gives important insights into the lives of internally displaced people, mainly by talking about the challenges of assimilating in the receiving society. The model suggests that assimilation is affected by both contextual and individual mechanisms and distinguishes assimilation into four subsequent stages- cognitive assimilation, structural assimilation, social assimilation and identificational assimilation. The researcher will consider the four stages of assimilation to analyze the various responses (refer to result tables 1 and 2).

Cognitive assimilation- It refers to acquisition of language skills to gain access to the knowledge about the institutional structures of the receiving society. In the present study, cognitive assimilation was seen through the acquisition of language by both the generations of IDPs, educational qualifications of the first-generation members, and the schooling career of the second-generation members. As it can be seen from the responses mentioned in Table 1, 8 out of 10 participants mentioned facing challenges in acquiring language of the host society. Specific to this case, the new language was Hindi. Esser's model suggests how educational qualification is directly linked with the acquisition of a new language because to learn a new dialect, exposure to it is the major criteria for its development. This can be clearly seen in the narratives of the participants. For example, Ms. Renu Qazi (aged 52 years now and 34 at the time of migration) who is a school teacher mentioned that in the beginning of her career as a school teacher it was very challenging for her to teach or communicate in Hindi. For them the primary language or medium of communication had been Kashmiri but the constant exposure to the host language allowed her to master it in a brief period. This exposure can be attributed to the social and economic mobility she gained since her qualifications served as an important condition for the profession of teaching. Contrary to this, is the case of Ms. Dura Raina (aged 76 years now) with minimalist education qualification and not much exposure to Hindi, still faces a problem while communicating in this language. Therefore, for her assimilating cognitively in the receiving society has not been very successful. Another example can be of Dr. Rajinder Tikkoo (aged 63 years). He had not been actively engaged in any occupational structure of the host society but had been indirectly working in the educational system by writing literature in his field of expertise, therefore, was quite quick in developing the host language (Hindi) and English additionally. The significant others in his life like his wife who worked in the All India Radio and his son who was studying in England served as the major source of agents for him to acquire the new language skills. There is ample research evidence to claim that language acquisition has direct links with the assimilation process. In the research done by Remennick in 2010 on the language acquisition and social integration among the former Soviet immigrants of 1990s, it was seen that host language acquisition was a key pathway to economic success and complete social integration. The improvement of Hebrew skills with increasing tenure in Israel was mainly found among young and middle-aged respondents, while older ones did not report positive change over time.

Structural assimilation- Refers to the social participation and placement in the occupational structure of the receiving society. From the result tables 1 & 2 the codes for the same theme include occupation details, buying of permanent property in the receiving society, and the initial financial constraints. From the responses in Table 1 of the results it can be inferred that 8 out of 10 participants faced major challenges while resettling because of financial setbacks. Moving back to the narratives, most of the participants reported that they left their homes with literally nothing. They left with the hope of returning soon. Since that never happened, they had to build their lives from scratch. For example, consider the case of Dr. Romesh Raina (aged 60 years) who is a general physician. When he moved to Delhi he faced immense challenge in terms of adjusting to the new demands of his profession. He said that "when I started practicing in Delhi there were no logistics available to me. The disease profile

of this place was completely different. At that time (in 90s) viral fever and malaria were highly prevalent in Delhi. In Kashmir, we had never known of these diseases.”

Three out of 10 participants were dependent on the financial aid provided by the Indian government. Further, out of these three participants, one of them continues to inhabit a government provided accommodation in New Delhi's Sarojini Nagar area.

When this researcher enquired the participants on when did they invest in permanent property in the receiving society, most of the participants mentioned that they purchased their own houses only after 5-6 years of their displacement. Dr. Raina in his interview said that “the entire process of displacement could be broken down into four phases. The first five years were of disbelief, agony and denial. The next five were of partial acceptance. It was only after 2005 that I shifted my focus on rehabilitating myself. I tried to create assets for my family. I purchased a house and started investing in property.” This can be substantiated by a research done by Nauck (1988) in which it was seen that immigrants invested in permanent property only after 5 years of settlement in the receiving society.

The major obstacle for families or an individual to resettle was meeting their basic needs and laying a decent financial foundation for their survival ahead. Mr. Arun Qazi (56 years now) mentioned in his interview that “when we left Kashmir, we first went to Jammu to our sister's house. There we were almost 20 people living in two rooms. We did not even have enough utensils to eat our meals together. It was the worst time of our lives. We had an acute financial crunch. I was the sole bread-winner. I have two elder brothers who had factory in Kashmir but because of the turmoil their factories were shut down. So, their families were dependent on me as well. Later, when I shifted to Delhi with my wife and elder daughter we had to adjust in a one bed-room apartment. We couldn't afford a cooler let alone an AC in the scorching heat of Delhi. It was a very difficult time.”

In the present study, no participant reported discrimination of any kind though research suggests that immigrants are often discriminated against and segregated from the local population in the work sector majorly (Fibbi, Lerch & Wanner 2006). However, people did experience a sense of hurt by the indifference of the host people. Mr. Qazi did also mention in his interview that “the people of Delhi were kind and supportive but they had barely any idea of what had happened to Kashmiri Pandits. That lack of knowledge or not caring enough to know killed me from within. There was nobody I could share my pain with.” Therefore, people were majorly able to structurally assimilate themselves in the receiving society.

According to Esser's model personal preconditions of the assimilation process are partly 'imported' motivational and *cognitive* attributes that are confronted with the opportunities provided by the receiving society and that 'match' a specific social and structural placement as the starting point of an assimilation career. In the case of the present study people who are displaced face the obstacle of finding a place in the occupational structure of the new place. All the participants interviewed in the study moved to Delhi either because of a well established kinship network here or because of a job transfer. Securing a job in a new place

you know nothing about can be very challenging. For people who are displaced it is not only for earning a livelihood but also for *recreating* meaning in their lives. All of us find meaning in what we do. For a doctor meaning comes from saving lives, for a teacher it comes from empowering young minds and for a house wife it comes from nurturing her family. The meaning of life does not narrow down to simply exist or survive; rather it lies in thriving and in flourishing. Displacement poses a serious threat to the meaning of life for affected populations so they grow by giving their life a meaning. And by learning about the culture of the receiving society, adapting to that culture and getting into the occupational structures of this society is how they really give a new meaning to their new life. A prerequisite to this form of assimilation in to the host society involves developing the language of the host society. Mastering this new language skill is dependent of their educational qualifications and the amount of exposure they receive while interacting with this new language.

Social assimilation- This refers to informal social contact with the members of the receiving society. Key codes falling under this theme were learning about the culture of the host society, adjusting to a different environment and familiarizing with the ways of the new city.

Concluding from Table 1 of the result it is clear that almost all the participants faced a major challenge in acclimatizing to an unknown environment and adjusting their behavior towards a changed culture. All ten participants mentioned experiencing a sense of lost familiarity.

People who are displaced from their homes spent their lives creating a home away from it. The narratives do suggest that adjusting or changing according to the needs of the host society was more difficult a task for members of the first generation. Consider for example, the case of Mr. HK Gadroo (aged 79 years now). He said that “while living in Kashmir I saw a lot of compassion in people towards each other. Crime rates were minimal. There was a strong cultural affinity. We lived together, celebrated together and shared our sorrows and joys. There was no distinction based on the religion. I don’t see that level of compassion in the people here. People here are so consumed in their own lives. I don’t have that neighbor that I could call my brother here. I don’t share that emotional connect or that sense of belongingness with people here. I am always on a lookout for my fellow Pandit brothers living around my son’s house.”

In another interview, that of Ms. Shanu Bhat (aged 42 years) mentioned that “in Kashmir even when your distant neighbor’s daughter would be getting married there would be celebrations in your house too. We celebrated every festival with so much zest and fervor. But here we need to formally invite our next-door neighbors for even a little celebration at home. I don’t feel that connect with people here. I constantly miss my people.”

From all the narratives, it is evident that there is more social assimilation happening within the members of the displaced community rather than with the members of the host society. People report of having formed several cultural institutions or residential colonies where only Kashmiri Pandits inhabit.

Going back to Dr. Raina's interview he says that "in the last phase of settling in the new city we focused on creating cultural and educative institutions like AIKS (All India Kashmiri Samaj), Roots etc. We have several publications of our own so that people have some link to their origins. We also created small temples so that all our fellow Pandit brothers could come together and we could celebrate our culture and keep it alive. We also created 14 housing colonies in Delhi. The sole purpose of these was to retain some homogeneity and cultural identity."

Now that it has been more than 25 years to their displacement they have assimilated in the receiving society but focus on the preservation of their culture and their heritage. They are integrated yet segregated.

Once the displaced individuals or families spend enough time in rehabilitating themselves and adjusting well to the demands of the receiving society they think of preserving their culture. Why is this preservation important? This can be easily seen in what Winston Churchill once said- "we shape our building, thereafter; our buildings shape us". Culture and its heritage are not only about the legacy of physical artifacts but about the intangible attributes such as values from the past generations which are bestowed with blessings for the future generations. These intangible attributes involve the social practices, traditions, rituals, festivals, revered saints or the god one believes in. Culture is a way of life. It reflects values and aspirations of its people thereby, *defining their identity*. Social assimilation is very important for both the displaced persons and for the host society. For the former it determines the degree of integration or segregation and for the latter it defines the social capital of the society. Social assimilation happens by becoming a stronger part of the receiving society or aligning one's behavior more like the natives so to say. The role of *networks* is of great importance here. Typically, networks are seen as instrumental in creating productive social capital, including social relations, which will in turn facilitate integration (Coleman, 1988). Stronger network ties would have allowed immigrants to have more intense social relations with their peers (Granovetter, 1974). However, in the present study it can be seen that for 9 out of 10 participants highest most of the network members enlisted belong to the same ethnic group. Second generation members may have an advantage and may find it easier to broaden their set of social contacts because of successful identification with the society of origin and the receiving society duo. Apart from network members the access to other services such as education (schooling for their grandchildren and children respectively) and healthcare directly improve the position of displaced people in the host society. Adequate schooling and training promote social inclusion by improving the language skills of (first and second generation) immigrants and by providing a common cultural background to natives and foreigners. Even housing can be indicative of the potential for rapid integration. Learning about the culture of the host society, interacting with the natives, celebrating each others' cultures and planning leisurely activities together also represents a crucial factor in the process of integration. These efforts to better understand the new society not only helps them to integrate but also helps them to reshape their identity in the process.

Identification assimilation- Refers to the predominant identification of individuals with the receiving society. In the context of the present study identificational assimilation is of utmost importance. When one is forced to leave their homes, and is left displaced in his own country, there is an immense sense of loss of 'belongingness'. People are left with no choice but to begin their life from scratch. They find themselves in a very complex position-where going back is not an option and moving ahead is like walking in the dark.

Referring to tables 1 and 2 of the results we can infer that the following codes- marriage endogamy, ethnic-language retention, feelings of lost identity, choice of name for grandchildren and spouse, idea of 'home' and return plans together count for identification assimilation.

In the case of first generation members, most of them responded with a yes when asked if they would prefer having a daughter-in-law/son-in-law from the same ethnic group. However, they did report that they would have to accept the choices made by their children for getting married outside community. Mr. Gadroo whose son is married to a Punjabi woman reported that "I was against the idea of allowing my son to marry the woman of his choice. He went against my will and married her. I didn't approve of their marriage for long. I felt that marrying someone from a different ethnic group would result in a loss of our gene pool. Our cultural heritage would just fade with time." Dr. Raina too in his interview said that "when my son decided to marry a non-Kashmiri I was totally against the idea. I came from a very conservative background. I never did approve of it. Though I had to comply with my son's choice I continue to live with that pain. According to me marrying someone from another community significantly increases the chances of divorce because both the individuals are from diverse cultural backgrounds."

Participants belonging to the first generation used Kashmiri as the primary language of communication with their children and their siblings. On the other end, participants falling in the category of second generation used Hindi as the primary language of communication with their children and Kashmiri with their siblings. As per Esser's classic action-theoretical model ethnic-language retention has a direct link with assimilation. The greater the ethnic-language retention the more will be the segregation of the immigrants (Esser, 1980).

Marriage endogamy, ethnic-language retention aren't the only ways in which people try to preserve their culture. The act of preservation manifests in events and choices such as choosing a name for their grandchildren. Mr. Gadroo mentioned that he named two of his grandchildren based on memories of home. He calls his elder granddaughter Bulbul, a beautiful bird found in Kashmir and younger daughter Sheen which reminds him of his home in Srinagar.

Eight out of 10 people reported feeling a sense of lost identity. While people from the first generation experienced a more intense sense of loss of identity, the same cannot be said for the second generation who identified themselves with both- the culture of their origin and the culture of the receiving society.

When asked about their return plans most first generation respondents expressed their desire to go back and live in their place of birth or live the last phase of their lives in their society of origin, but have no actual plan of returning as their children have settled well. Three out of 10 participants expressed strongly that they would go back at any given opportunity. The rest said that that place had nothing more to offer to them except for hurt and pain. Their children had settled and were doing well in different cities. There were hardly any opportunities in Kashmir back then and it continues to be the case till today.

“I certainly would go back. I’m so fed up of this place. The flavor of that soil, the flavor of that culture, the idea of who you are or where your home lies would always take me back to Kashmir. I can never reconcile to the idea of not being a Kashmiri Pandit because I will always remain one,” said Dr. Romesh Raina. Another response is that of Dr. Rajinder Tikkoo, “despite all the violence that continues to exist in the valley, I, till date live with the hope of going back to my home, going back to where my roots are.” Ms. Suman Kak said “even though it has been more than 20 years that I have been residing in Delhi, I just hate the place. I hate the weather. I hate the pollution. Living in Kashmir was so much more better. No diseases. No pollution. Close to the nature. If at all things get better there I would definitely go back.”

Lastly, the participants were asked what the term ‘home’ meant to them. Further, did Delhi feel like a home? Five participants responded with a yes and five responded with a no. The five participants who answered a yes were from the first generation. Mr. Gadroo had the following response-“Delhi is not my home. It is my settled home. In fact, if you look at the history of this place, all people living here are settlers. Real Delhi is only confined to puraani dilli. So, in a city of settlers, I am just one of them.” Ms. Qazi responded by saying that “I have been living here for over two decades now. I have accepted all the changes that came with migration with dignity. I have no option but to believe that Delhi is my home. But this will always be my second home. There’s a saying in Kashmir “agar firdeus bar ru-e-zamin ast Hami ast o-hami ast o, hami ast” which translates as if there’s a paradise on earth, it is here, it is here. Kashmir will always be my first home.”

Intergenerational transmission of the social relations of displaced family members has been analyzed with the help of measures regarding the network characteristics of the first and the second generation of participants.

In general, spatial availability of and the contact frequency with network members is quite high. This is not specific to displaced families but rather is a general characteristic of relationships. Approximately 80% of the network members for all participants, in both generations and genders are those with whom contacts are maintained at least on a weekly basis, although spatial availability is relatively higher in displaced families when compared with the local families (Nauck & Kohlmann, 1999).

Proportion of kinship members is higher for 6 out of 10 participants. This can be an effect of chain-displacement/migration, through which within a short period extended kinship relations

are reconstituted in the displacement context, and of maintaining relationships within the society of origin, mainly within the kinship context. This proportion drops significantly for the second generation. This could be due to an effect of assimilation or of the specific life stage.

Proportion of network members who belong to the same ethnic group (intraethnic network) is extremely high: More than 90% of the network of the first generation and more than 60% of the networks of the second generation participants are intraethnic.

Therefore, the data generated from the network characteristics supplements the themes and suggests that people belonging to the first generation of internally displaced persons have higher proportions of network members who belong to the same ethnic group. Hence, they are more segregated and identify less with the host society.

Human beings are pre-programmed with a deep need for belonging. This need serves as a motivation for us to join groups with people who have similar interests and share common opinions. This sense of belonging to a group gives us security, enhances our self-esteem and helps us to achieve bigger goals which by living in isolation wouldn't have been possible. Our need to 'belong' is a fundamental need proposed by psychologist Abraham Maslow in his Needs Hierarchy (1943). We are also deeply driven by our sense of identity, of who we are. We are in the middle of our individual world, where we place central importance on our sense of individual self. As Descartes said, 'I think, therefore I am.'

Feeling that you 'belong' is most important in seeing value in life and in coping with intensely painful emotions. Building a sense of belonging requires active efforts. One of the primary ways to do that is to think of ways in which you are similar to others rather than thinking of ways which make you different. Another important way is through acceptance. And acceptance requires validation. In the case of displaced Kashmiri Pandits they have failed to gain a validation or acknowledgement to their experience of pain and hurt by the members of the receiving society. Being forced to leave one's home is a very painful experience. Even after 25 years to the critical episode which led to the displacement of Kashmiri Hindus, they haven't been able to fully internalize the experience and let go. Letting go requires **closure**. Closure means finality, letting go of what once was. Finding closure implies a complete acceptance of what has happened and an honoring of the transition away from what's finished to something new. Kashmiri Pandits never got a complete closure. Therefore, they continue to remain in the transit. While they have assimilated into all the structures of the receiving society yet they don't feel Delhi to be there '*home*'.

Moving forward with what '*home*' means, it ceases to be a fluid concept. It includes a physical idea of boundary as well as serves as a memoir of childhood, and young adulthood memories and experiences for Kashmiri Pandits. Man is nothing but a product of his experiences in this world and experiences gained in the first few years of life remain to be the most crucial ones, as said by Freud. The word '*home*' only brings pain to them. They want to *go back* at a very desirous level but because of the lack of concreteness and physical

resources, they cannot. However, these feelings are stronger and more intense in the first generation members than in the second generation ones. Therefore, the former lives hanging in the fear of ethnic extinction.

The above section mentioned the challenges of assimilation and cultural retention faced by displaced persons. How these displaced people recreated meaning in their lives and came to define home was discussed as well. The section below describes the psychological distress caused to people because of this whole experience.

Displacement did not only threaten the core of existence of displaced persons, it also affected their psychological development. Recreating meaning, preservation of culture can be very overwhelming for these people and cause a lot of distress. In the previous sections we described and discussed the themes generated by qualitatively analyzing the data. In this section, the responses on the Talbeih Brief Distress Inventory (TBDI) questionnaire have been explained and further have been correlated with the experience of resettlement. By now we know that there are systematic variations between members of the first generation and that of the second generation, but the two are linked together through intergenerational transmission processes to a varying degree according to family cultures and acculturation strategies. These level differences lead to different outcomes with regard to a. social assimilation-namely, the ethnic composition of the individual networks in the two generations- and b. identificational assimilation.

Out of the six scales (refer to table 3) most of the participants marked responses representing moderate to extreme values on depression, sensitivity and paranoid ideation. Eight out of 10 participants reported that during the first few months after their displacement they felt that most of the people are unfriendly and their feelings being easily hurt. Almost all the participants marked extreme responses on certain items under the depression scale such 'feeling that nothing in life turns out the way you want it to', 'feeling completely helpless', 'feeling that nothing is worthwhile anymore', and 'getting bothered by feelings of sadness/depression'. Finally, majority of the participants marked a 3 or a 4 (towards the extreme on a five point Likert scale) on items linked with paranoid ideation such as 'most people cannot be trusted', 'feeling lonely even when you are with people', 'others not giving you proper credit for your achievements'.

The total score revealed the actual level of distress experienced by all the participants. This grand score was calculated by summing up all the responses marked by the participants. As there were 24 statements in totality and each statement had a response choice from 0-4 (a five point Likert scale), zero became the minimum score, 96 was the highest (24×4) and 48 was the mid-point representing moderate level of distress. Inferring from Table 4, 3 out of 10 participants had high level of psychological distress with their total score being 68, 62 and 59 respectively. None of the participants were found to have low level of distress. 7 of them had a moderate level of distress and 6 of these 7 had scores lying very to the threshold of getting extreme.

All five participants from the first generation scored towards the higher end of the continuum with two of them scoring 68 and 62 respectively and the rest three scoring 47, 47 and 46 respectively. This supports our study as people from the first generation face a major challenge while successfully assimilating in the receiving society and they only have the higher level of psychological distress. Participants belonging to the second generation face the major issue of developing efficient acculturation strategies while the culture is being transmitted from their parents' generation. This does cause some amount of distress too but it majorly ranges from low to moderate as can be seen from Table 4 of the results.

Therefore, the cataclysm that visited Kashmir in the 1990s wounded the society so deep, it's yet to heal. While the armed movement heralded the promise of freedom for some, for others it was a bonfire of hopes, dreams, future. Of the latter, there's no greater marker than the displacement of Kashmiri Pandits. It was a tragedy seemingly without end. The first generation of the people faced major setbacks and could not fully identify with the receiving society despite several efforts while the second generation could actively identify with both the cultures. Accordingly, the psychological distress found in the first generation participants is significantly higher than found in the second generation ones.

One of the major limitations of the study was the short sample size. The sample also did not represent people who had faced intense violence in the discourse of the 90s exodus and people living in extreme sufferings such as the refugees. Another limitation is that it does not account for the gender differences and roles in the assimilation process. For example, how social lives and thereby assimilation in the receiving society was more affected for women than for men because men actively engaged in the structural institutions of the receiving society. A further limitation is that the study does not dwell into the more negative implications of the exodus- that side of the story which has led to the two communities move farther apart. Also, as the study is primarily qualitative in nature with a very small sample size, the generalizability is low.

The study has the following implications-

The fact that even after 25 years of resettlement participants could not connect to the receiving society at a very personal level and continue to live in some distress suggests that this painful experience will continue to live with them causing some amount of distress and feelings of dejection and remorse.

The study presents as a strong literature in the field of counseling as it allows counselors to better understand the experiences of Kashmiri Hindus. Similarly, it can be used by people wanting to study the process of internal displacement in a very qualitative context.

The Kashmir issue continues to be a delicate issue in our Nation which has to be tactfully dealt. The present study provides an account of the experiences of Kashmiri Pandits living in 'exile' in their own country. If nothing, it does make its audience sensitive to the sufferings of the mentioned displaced population and acknowledges their pain, thereby providing them comfort and closure.

CONCLUSION

The present study aims to understand how internally displaced persons reconstructed meaning in their lives while adjusting to their new realities in the context of preservation of culture and simultaneous assimilation in the host society. Results suggested that despite spending more than twenty years in the receiving society the members of the first generation identified predominantly with the society of origin. Contrary to this, the second generation members could successfully assimilate in the structures of the host society, strengthen their positions in it and identify with both- the society of origin and the receiving society. Accordingly, the psychological distress was reported to be higher in the first generation than in the second one. This study has implications in the field of counseling for it could enlighten them with the experiences of this specific population and help them in devising better coping strategies. Also, it would make the audience more sensitive by providing insights into the experiences of Kashmiri Pandits.

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APPENDIX

1. Interview schedule (for the use by researcher)

Demographic details-

1. Name
2. Age
3. Sex
4. Occupation
5. Educational qualification of parents and children
6. Income range
7. Residential address
8. Year and month of migration (exact date if possible)
9. No. of kids and their age at the time of migration

Interview questions

1. Describe your childhood and the period before migration?
2. How was the culture of that place?
3. What was the critical moment when you decided to leave your homes?
4. How did you decide upon a place?
5. What were the challenges you encountered while living in a new city?
6. How has life been different since the migration?
7. Since the migration, have you ever gone back? Is it still the same?
8. After living for more than 20 years here now does this place feel like home?
9. In what language do you communicate with your children and in what language do the siblings communicate in?
10. Will you support your children if they decide to marry outside the community?
11. What are your thoughts on going back to Kashmir?
12. Name five people in each of these categories-
 - i. People you think of in times of emergency/crisis/when you need help.
 - ii. People you usually plan your leisurely activities with.

Talbieh Brief Distress Inventory

Instructions- Below is a list of problems and complaints that people sometimes have. Read each one carefully, and select one of the numbered choices that best describe HOW MUCH DISCOMFORT THAT PROBLEM HAS CAUSED YOU (since the migration). Please do not skip any items and, print your numbers clearly.

Items for BSI

Choice for questions: 0- Not at all; 1- A little bit; 2- Moderately; 3- Quite a bit; 4- Extremely

1. Trouble remembering things
2. Feeling easily annoyed or irritated
3. Pains in heart or chest
4. Feeling that most people cannot be trusted
5. Temper outbursts that you could not control

6. Feeling lonely even when you are with people
7. Your feelings being easily hurt
8. Feeling that people are unfriendly or dislike you
9. Difficulty making decisions
10. Getting into frequent arguments
11. Others not giving you proper credit for your achievements
12. Feelings of worthlessness
13. Feelings of guilt

Items from the PERI-D

For the following items, these choices are given: 4-very often; 3-fairly often; 2-sometimes; 1-almost never; 0-never

14. How often have you had attacks of sudden fear or panic?
15. How often have you been bothered by feelings of sadness or depression- Feeling blue?
16. How often have you been bothered by nervousness, being fidgety or tense?
17. How often have you felt useless?
18. How often have you felt anxious?
19. How often have you felt that nothing turns out for you the way you want it to?
20. How often have you felt completely hopeless about everything?
21. How often have you felt completely helpless?
22. How often have you had times when you couldn't help wondering if anything was worthwhile anymore?
23. How often have you had a trouble concentrating or keeping your mind on what you were doing?
24. In general, how satisfied have you been with yourself? ; 0-very satisfied; 1-somewhat satisfied; 2-satisfied; 3-somewhat dissatisfied; 4-very dissatisfied

Scales and Items

Obsessiveness- 1, 9, 23

Hostility- 2, 5, 10

Sensitivity- 7, 8, 12, 13

Depression- 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24

Anxiety 14, 16, 18

Paranoid ideation- 4, 6, 11

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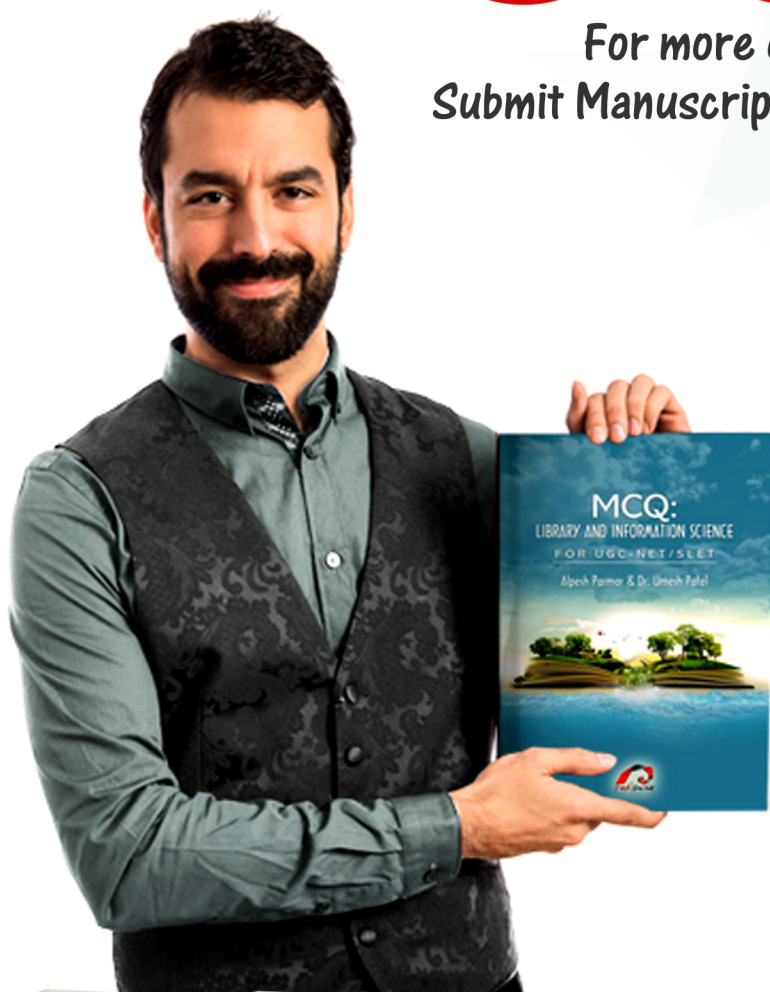
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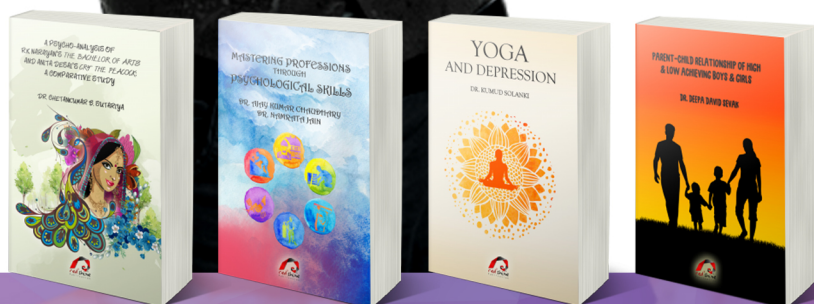
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